part of Ashelland to the neighbouring area of Lolwor in Kamanja. No details will be given of this journey, which proved a difficult one on account of the heavy rains. It may be noted, however, that the administrative boundary between Lango and Ashell was found incompatible with the tribal boundary. The line of march when leaving Lolwor is indicated on the accompanying map. From the beginning of the journey to Kokwanei, in Dodoinga, I was accompanied by Captain P. Bonny, then O.C. Northern Garrison, to whom I am deeply indebted. Indeed, had it not been for his ever-willing help, many of the enquiries to which this report relates could not have been undertaken. My best thanks are due to the Percy Sladen trustees for generous assistance. Further, I wish gratefully to acknowledge much good advice from Professor C. G. Seligmann, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and the Senior Proctor.

I.—Kamanja.

For administrative purposes the boundaries of Kamanja, embracing an area of 1,110 square miles, are defined in the Handbook of Uganda (Second Edition) as follows:—

"Commencing at a point on the boundary between the Uganda and Soroti Administrations, being the centre of the course of Mount Elgon, the boundary runs in a straight line to the source of the River Kimotorongo (also known as the Kibia in Soroti District) which river it follows to its junction with the Kibedio River, which river it follows to its junction with Lake Salgo; thence in a north-easterly direction to a point on U. T. Lattitude due south of the highest point on Kamalogo mountain. From this point it follows the eastern boundary of Lolwor District until it meets the southern boundary of Suk[illegible] Province; thence along the southern boundary until it meets the Turkwel District boundary of Suk[illegible] Province; thence in a southerly direction along the Turkwel District boundary until it meets the River Turkwel or Sosia; thence along the Turkwel or Sosia to the centre of the Suam to Mount Elgon; thence a straight line to the point of commencement."

Until about the middle of 1926 Kamanja was unadministered, except that part of it generally known as Lolwor, which was treated as part of the Ashell District. Kamanja is a vast alluvial plain rising very gently to the vicinity of the mountains which mark in the easterly prospect on the eastern and northern sides. The eastward rise, towards the Elgon escarpments, is moderately conspicuous. Most of the plain consists of "cotton soil" in and on which are generally occurring stone tools of a very primitive culture.[1] (Pl. [illegible], Fig. 1.)

The hills and mountains are all composed of ancient crystalline rocks of various sorts except in the south-east where Tertiary lavas and volcanic tuffs are conspicuous. Generally speaking the crystalline rocks are of the foreboding type.[2] They occur rare, but they are not very common. They are due to overflowing sheets from plateau except in the Tororo hills where foreshore erosion occurs.

The area is devoid of any tree, and if vegetation is to be counted a browning steadily takes place. There are no permanent streams and, during the dry season, water is obtained from holes in

[1] The Stone Implements mentioned in this address will be described in the Percy Sladen memorial for a paper concerning the antiquities of Africa.

[2] The details and occurrence of this area will be dealt with in another publication.

[3] See Geol. Mag. Vol. Dec. V, pp. 1-10, 1908.

HISTORY

[illegible]

[illegible]

DEMOGRAPHY

[illegible]

A. [illegible]
B. [illegible]
C. [illegible]
D. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Ji Magutre G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ.

possibly these Dorobo had been poor Mossi, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Sulelkye*, though Sir Cloud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Sulelkye* are stated to have come from the Kinongo[1] district of the Mossi. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kinongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Mossi of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Sulelkye* Dorobo with the Mossi throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Mossi Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Sulelkye* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Mossi. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears[2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Mossi.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Mossi, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful slovenliness seldom to be met with in the Mossi. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Sulelkye*, but will almost always add: "We are now Mossi again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Mossi and the *Sulelkye* are one and the same. The opinions of the Mossi (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Sulelkye* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Sulelkye* are the

[1] Cf. Stahle: *Mossi Language and Folklore*; pp. xiv, etc. The name would seem to be ancestral, nowadays, to no more specific area than east and west of Arusha. (Map reference: 9 c; Kilimanjaro: S. E. 1/2.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

2; Maguire C-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
F'LÁ Dorobo F'LÁ

descendants of the hotter members of the Mani tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Mani herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Sebei* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Sebei*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Sebei* and the Mani to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

(b) *Kireyánikyat*

The *Kireyánikyat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Mani what the *Sebei* is to the Mani proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kireyánikyat*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Mani Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kireyánikyat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kireyánikyat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except inasmuch as it refers to the *Kireyánikyat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself "originated" in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kireyánikyat* (who have no language but Mani),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Mani proper. The *Kireyánikyat* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] *Vide infra*. The Lumbwa and the Mani proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Mani of adjoining areas during the late war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Mani cattle. [2] See note 2, p. 191.

[3] Kwavi, neither, as the name "Lumbwa" is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to their tribe, particularly here, have adopted agricultural habits.

clans or families," after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several houses at the present time. Wakiro and Wakiak Dorobo live and hunt together all over the northern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous* (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Wakiro* collectively) are the last with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lokiro, who was the only man to record possessing a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the Wakiro is at Tukenani.* He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, asserts that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Lua*,* but no living Wakiro can remember the time when the majority of the people did not live at or near to Tukenani.

The Wakiro are to be found, consistently, living with the Masai in the bends of the lotor. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude bends of their own, close to the Masai. In these bends will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.* More often, however, the Wakiro live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, homeless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn enclosure, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or die from natural causes the Wakiro is the quickly seen to become aware of the event in the most mercenary way. They will appear surreptitiously, make their camp, and remain until the carcase has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

* Men probably the former.
* Possibly one dozen including the women and children.
* The verb *a ki ray* [illegible] plain. In the non-existing the word.
* The Masai regard the eating of birds or eggs as useless.

IL-TORÓBO

PART II

Il-Aramanik

I grow cautious at the extent that the *Aramanik* Dorobo are the people from whom it was hoped to get the most interesting information and from whom I actually succeeded in extracting the least. They were first described to me as being a "clan" of Dorobo who lived at Meiye and who were fishermen by occupation. This I have found to be quite incorrect. 114

There are *Aramanik* living with the Meiye Masai, but they live as Masai and have almost entirely abandoned Dorobo methods of life. They differ from the *Dalalekye* only inasmuch as they are not Masai, call themselves Dorobo and have a language of their own. This language (for examples of which see the section devoted to numerals and the list of common objects) is quite distinct from that of the *Wiaiso*.[1] I have had personal experience of the fact that a Masai cannot converse with a Dorobo in the tongue of the latter, and that *Wiaiso* and *Aramanik* can be quite unintelligible to each other. 101 177 107

An *Aramanik* named Sarbalo, of Meiye, gave me the following bald account of the origin of the *Aramanik*: "We come from Kijapi,[2] from a hole there used to be there but which has since closed up, near Il-Aiteipai le-Loipiniak. We came south with the Masai a long time ago. Formerly we lived around Matto and Il-ololip, but have now come down here to Meiye. Others of us went north to the Serengeti plain. We are not Masai, but they are our brothers, and we have married their 113

[1] M. P. J. Hopkinson, in a recent number of the *Journal of the African Society*, mentions that a "fishermen clan" of the Dorobo lives in the Nyeri area; ante.

[2] See the Masai, M. Merker (Berlin, 1910), p. 109-110 ff. I think the Dorobo must have an *Aramanik* for the most part, though *Aramanik* and Masai may have been confused, to judge by the account given on p. 109.

[3] The *Aramanik* name for Kijapi. See p. 130 in *Journal for January 1928*.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkain states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serengeti plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lekito was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whom information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Ilaikipe* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sonjoo, Soloi and Piakya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Mokore*

[1] See p. 271, fn. (4). The Dorobo seen by the Count Teleki were, almost certainly, these same *Aramanik*.

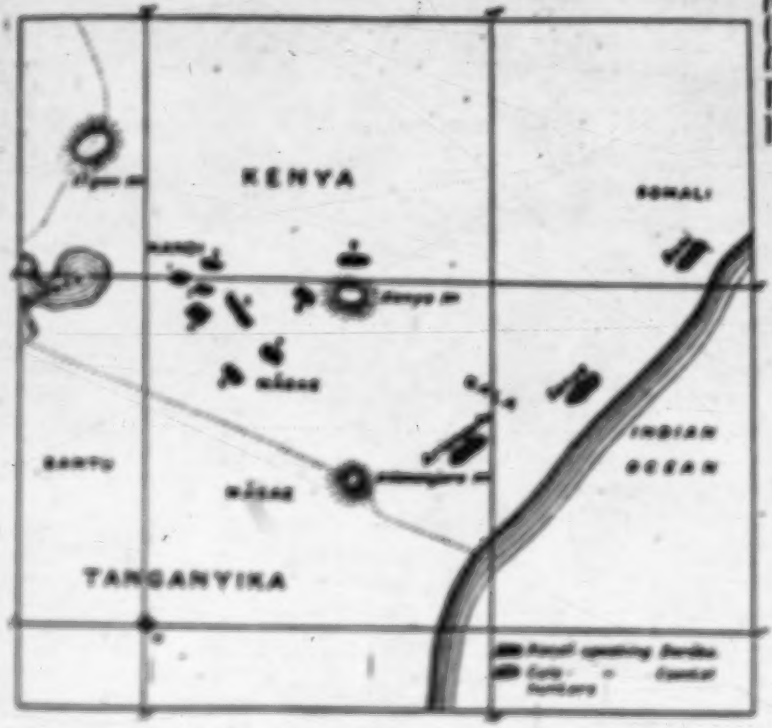
[2] almost gone to another

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[4] According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)1929 F1A Dorobo F1A

Akiba: In the Nandi story called "Kaiserekop" (Beginner of earth) there were originally three things on earth—an elephant, a snake and a Dorobo (H.N., p. 308); and in the Nandi story "Tapoud' ap-murt" (The beginning of the earth) God found three things on earth—an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo (H.N., p. 111). The Dorobo tradition that "we have always lived here" seems to confirm these STORIES.



MAP 1.—

stories. Further, Hollis quotes (H.N., p. 98) a tradition of the Kisi clan, that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and a girl, who issued from a swelling in his leg, and who became the ancestors of "all the people upon earth." We may note that among the Kimollo-Kipchapkwondi Dorobo the chief clan is the Kisi or Kaligenyet. Such evidence as we have for the Nandi tribes points to a movement from the north; and since the Dorobo resemble the Nandi in features, customs, and language, we can only

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Sanye and Ariangulu have been in subjection to the Gala, and speak dialects of Gala; the Bôni hunt for the Somali. They call themselves Watta or Watwa (the Gala call the Sanye, Wanya, pl. Watwa), which is also the name of a hunting people in Abyssinia who speak Gala but have also a language of their own.[1] They count themselves as the original inhabitants of Abyssinia. The Abyssinian Watta, the Sanye, Bôni, Ariangulu, Midgan of Somali, together with the Dume N.W. of Lake Stephanie, and the Wapare of Kilimanjaro, are claimed by R. Biasutti[2] to be connected with the Dorôbo. And it is not impossible to identify the people called UAUAT in the "Inscription of Una" (VIth dynasty, King Pepi I) with these modern Watta, of which the stem is possibly WA-, and the T a plural suffix. If we may accept this identification, the traditional antiquity of the hunting tribes is confirmed.

The old men give the following account of their past history:—

Ka-ki-menye	uli-tok	korosue-chu	olekinye-tukul,	kimi	
We-dwelt	here	countries-these	of-old-always,	there-were	
Mosk	komas-i	kewanni	ak	Ipkwapek	komas-in
the-Nandi	side-this	open-country-this	and	the-Uasin-Gishu-Masai	side-that
olgutet.	Olekinye	kimi	Kápcheptaen	ulin-po	korosue-chu tukul
the-plain.	Of-old	there-were	the-Sirikwa	there-of (-at)	countries-these all
ulin-bori	po	Soiin[3]	ko-pet-yo	keny.	Ma-ki-ose kiit'-akre.
there-down	of	Soiin	they-are-lost	long-ago.	Not-we-know thing-other.

["We have always lived in this country; the Nandi were on one side, in the open country, the Uasin-Gishu Masai on the other side in the plain. Of old, the 'Sirikwa' lived in the plain of Soiin below. We do not know anything else."]

At the present day the Kámellio-Kápchephendi Dorôbo do not seem to be very numerous or very flourishing. A number have left the depths of the forest and live on the edge (*ssungutiet ap ssemak*). They assign as their reason for leaving the forest, the hardships consequent upon an epidemic of disease (*dorsita*, N.), which was probably small-pox: the elders of the Kápelach age say this happened when they were warriors, *i.e.* somewhere about 1880, when the Masai suffered heavily from this disease. When we visited Dorôbo huts in the forest, we were told that there were very few huts in that part of the forest. I suspect the Dorôbo like to make it seem that few live in the forest.

[1] R. Cerulli, "The Folk-literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia" (*Harvard African Studies, III*) p. 200; Massaja, "I mei trenta cinque anni di missione nell' alta Etiopia."

[2] *Boll. Soc. Geogr. Ital.*, Roma, s. 6, vol. vi, p. 173.

[3] Soiin was one of the Nandi constituents, or "counties," which was cut off after the Nandi Territory Expedition of 1905. It included the Dorôbo country, and also the plain at the foot of the Nandi escarpment from Maiwenui to Kibos, which latter area the Nandi still refer to as Soiin.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

131 Most of these hordes are small, and most of them live on high, forested ground at altitudes of over 7000 feet, though those of Tanganyika [133] live at a somewhat lower altitude. But the Kenya Dorobo, living in the high forests, still retain the preference of their ancestors for such country, though they used to hunt in the plains below. Seventy years ago much of the land under 7000 feet was occupied, though sparsely, by the Masae of the Rift Valley, which accounts for the statement in the list of hordes [111] that the Central and Eastern groups are or were in contact with the Masae.

We do not know the origin of the Dorobo. SIR HARRY JOHNSTON 174 believed that they may have been formed by the forerunners of the Masae 179 who, he thought, absorbed a much larger proportion of the earlier dwarf race which once inhabited East Africa than was absorbed by the Nandi. This is open to question for several reasons. There is nothing to indicate that the Masae group entered East Africa much earlier than the Nandi group, and language suggests that the Dorobo made contact with the first Nandi settlers in the region of Mount Elgon. We may be certain, however, that the ancestors of the Dorobo were forest people. There is no objection [144] to the supposition that they may have some pygmy blood, but this pygmy strain was mixed with the blood of other people who were not pastoral, for the true pastoralist avoids the forest and keeps, like the Masae and Nandi, to open country. It is possible that there was once a race of hunters who ranged over East Africa from whom are descended not only the Dorobo, but the lowland hunters near the coast known as Boni, Sanye, and Ariangulu, as well as the Watta of Abyssinia; and if the identification of the Watta with the Uauat of the Egyptian inscription of Una (VIth dynasty) is accepted, their antiquity is considerable.

● 173 However this may be, both Nandi and Masae regard the Dorobo as aboriginals, and their traditions indicate unmistakably that they found the Dorobo in Kenya when they arrived. Both have myths about the beginning of things in which there were originally three beings on earth: in the Masae version, an elephant, a snake, and a Dorobo; and in the Nandi, an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo. Moreover HOLLIS quotes a Nandi myth that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and girl who issued from a swelling on his leg and became the ancestors of the human race[8]. The Dorobo say, "We have always been here", and we may, I think, be justified in regarding the Dorobo not only as a distinct people, but as one of considerable antiquity.

101 From now onwards the name Dorobo will be used, unless otherwise [131] stated, with specific reference to the Kipkurerek horde of the Western group, which lives in the high forest land a few miles to the south-east of the 133 present Nandi Reserve[9]. Here is a tract of dense, deciduous forest, at an average altitude of 8200-8400 feet above sea level, rising in places to over

[8] HOLLIS: The Masai, p. 346; The Nandi, pp. 98, 111.

[9] I use 'Reserve' instead of the latest term Native Land Unit because it is shorter and better known.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

organizations, rainstones, masks and ancestor figures (nor have the peoples of Karamoja any legend of the "Great Flood"). As nothing serious in the way of genealogy was attempted, the remoteness of these progenitors, whose ghostly visitations and "callings" are at times so disturbing, is not determinable, but I could not learn of ancestors whose generation was separated from that of the present by more than two others.

The smallness of the Andorobo tribe has been noted. It is maintained that "once upon a time" the tribe was much larger. There seems no reason to doubt this, and one naturally speculates with regard to the cause of this diminution of numbers. Want of adaptability seems likely to have been an important factor, and inspection of the lists of physical measurements included in this report suggests, but the suggestion may be deceptive, that in this case adaptability and physical variation are not entirely unconnected. The following table elucidates this point:—

Tribe.	Max. Dif. (in cm.) in Stature of Adult Males.	Max. Dif. (in cm.) in Stature of Adult Females.	Dif. in Stature Maximum between Adults of both Sexes.	Dif. in Stature Minimum between Adults of both Sexes.	Dif. of Max. Stature of Males over Min. of Females. (Adults.)	Dif. of Max. Stature of Females over Min. of Males. (Adults.)
Dadoth	27·5					
Jie	33·3	19·3	23·6	11·7	43·0	7·6
Labwor	29·9	19·9	6·6	6·6	33·7	17·1
Wandorobo	13·4	7·2	2·6	2·6	10·6	10·6

11: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FL6 Dorobo FL6

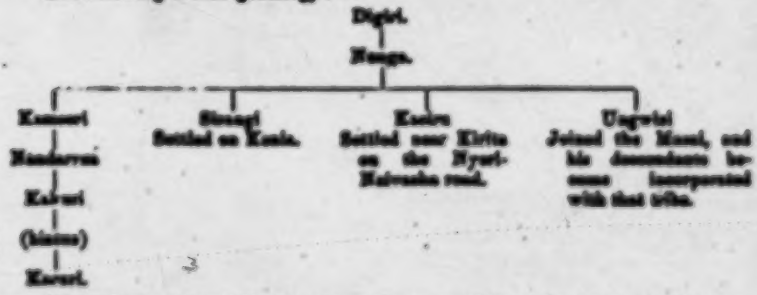
Notes on the Dorobo People and other Tribes; gathered from Chief Karuri and others. *By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.* 78

101 The true Dorobo people are called Asi by the Kikuyu people and call themselves Aggiek (or Oggiek) or Ogiechua.

Mr. Hollis tells me that the Nandi call them Okiek (singular Okiet), the Masai Il-Torobo (singular Ol-Torobosi).

131 [648] 173 614 [769] They inhabited the whole of the East Africa highlands from Nandi to Kenia before the Masai invaded the country. The most important clan among the Aggiek is the Digiri (*see* MAN, 1903, 21), the name Digiri being that of their earliest known ancestor. Digiri, however, appears to have lived so long ago that all details about him are lost, and the first ancestor remembered by most is one Nenga, who was a very powerful person, and nearly all the Aggiek are said to trace their origin to this chief.

The following is their genealogy :—



614 [304] [191] [262] [173] [648] Kamuri, Sirangi, and Kaire are now the names of three clans of the Aggiek.

Before the Masai came none of the Aggiek circumcised and they all spoke one language. The totem of the Aggiek is the ant-bear, which is called Ungura, they do not eat carnivorous animals or birds of prey, but eat all other animals and birds.

The Digiri have a distinct legend of the invasion of the Masai: they describe how one day a Digiri hunter on the Emuru Narok saw a great company of people coming from the north; the hunter was afraid and hid among the rocks, but he was seen,

11: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FL6 Dorobo FL6

captured, and commandeered as guide to the party, and was ordered to show them the places where they could obtain water for their cattle. The people who came from the north were the ancestors of the *Burugo*, *Gekonyuki*, *Loitai*, and *Damat* Masai. 173 674 648

Mr. Hollis spells these as follows:—Il-parka, Il-kak-ocnyokia, 'L-oitai and Il-damat. [114]

Some generation later an invasion took place from the south. A people came from a district called Ruruguti in the direction of Nyanwasi country; these people were like Masai and were under one Ndaruguto, the son of Ndaramwosi. They fought with the Masai from the north and vanquished them. Ndaruguto was a clever leader, however, and he collected his beaten adversaries and welded them with his own people into the Masai nation. Before that time the Wanyamwezi occupied the whole of the Nandi-Lumbwa plateau but they were driven south by the great chief Ndaramwosi, or his son Ndaruguto. If this is true it might account for the remains of certain rain dams which are to be seen in some of the Nandi valleys; these were certainly not made by the Nandi, but probably by a people who understood irrigation.

The Kikuyu country was then unoccupied by that tribe, but was one of the great hunting grounds of the Dorobo, and contained many elephants, buffalo, wild pig, &c. In those days it is said the herds of buffalo far exceeded the present herds of cattle possessed by the Masai. The Kikuyu people migrated in from the south-east and gradually increased, cultivating shambas as they pushed north-west; one of the Kikuyu clans, the Mwiranga, came from as far south as Kilimanjaro—in fact, their name is possibly a corruption of Chaga. They are skilled at rain-making and other witchcraft, and are said to have some Masai blood in their veins. 194 [136]

On the Enemagishu or Uasin Gishu plateau, between Mount Elgon and Elgeyo, there are remains of a past race in the form of numerous ruined stone kraals, circular in shape. The Uasin Gishu people who formerly inhabited the plateau declare that they are the relics of a race called Mokwas (possibly the people were called Nirikwa, and the kraals Mokwas) who peopled that region previous to themselves. This is borne out by the legends of the Aggish, who state that the people who inhabited that region before the Uasin Gishu were a long-haired people called Kajwa by the Kikuyu and Ekworia by the Masai. They were a pastoral tribe who had enormous herds of cattle with exceptionally long horns. They had far more cattle than any other tribe. They were, however, broken up by the Il-Parka, 'L-Aikipiak, and 'L-Oitai Masai, the bravest of the Masai who entered from the north. According to Aggish tradition they were not like other human beings, for when a child was born they bored a hole in its side; the wound healed but the hole remained, and they closed the hole with a wooden plug. When, however, they wanted to run they took out the plug. The form of circumcision practised by these people was to take off both knee caps in early youth. Be this as it may, the tradition of long hair and long-horned cattle possibly points to an offshoot of some Hamitic race from the north which made an unfortunate experiment of migration southwards. Such migration might turn out to be contemporaneous with the Hima invasion of Uganda. Soon after the destruction of this tribe by the Masai the horned cattle were nearly all swept off by cattle plagues. 193 [114]

The Aggish also have a curious tradition about a clever race of dwarfs called Mwalwal Chinna who inhabited this country in old times; they are said to have averaged only 3 feet in stature.

They also tell that they heard from their forefathers, long before Europeans were actually seen up country, that a white race (called Mwikenga) existed in the world. Doubtless news of the white man's advent was passed on up country, from tribe to tribe, long before he was seen inland.

C. W. HOBLEY.

---

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a limited extent, by individuals, as well as several species of monkey.[1] There seems to have been no very strict close season, as pig were occasionally hunted in the wet weather, though not often, since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet. There are now no lion or elephant, but they are said to have existed when the Sawe and Kipkoiimet ages were young men, i.e. about 1860. Leopards are still common, and are still shot if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs; they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is not bought, but searched for or stolen from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap Megati which caught a leopard during one of my visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no longer exist in the western end of the forest where the Kaphepkendi live, but they occur near Londiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men. If, say, eight went out, half would go along one bank of a stream, and half along the other bank, so that one or other party would be sure to get something. They met after the kill, and cooked the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The rest was divided among the hunters and taken home for their families, the unsuccessful members of the hunt receiving a share from those who made the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his own (elementary) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with meat, and the distribution of meat in order of priority, is:—

Hunter	*Meat to*
1.	Wife and children.
2.	Father and mother.
3.	Wife's father.
4.	Neighbours (clansmen).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the government) an hereditary right over a piece of forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee-keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so, for otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone

[1] *Saimiri*, Cobus guereza;
Chlorocebus pygerythrus;
Vervet, 'blue' monkey or *Cercopithecus albogularis*;
Kamobwai, the baboon, *Papio cynocephalus*.

5:Lambert--46 G-5 (ca. 1935-1950) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6

•D
K
973
425

Mr. H.R. Tate had recorded in or before 1910:
"The Gikuyu themselves say they came from the north and north-east, buying their land with stock from the Dorobo, or hunter tribe of nomads." (1)

1. In "The Native Law of the Southern Gikuyu of British East Africa," Journal of the African Society, April 1910.

and again:
"As far as can be ascertained after this lapse of time, all the land in the occupation of the southern Gikuyu was purchased with live stock by their grandparents or great-grandparents, who bought out the Dorobo or hunter tribe who occupied and hunted over the land up to within half a century ago." (2)

2. In "Further Notes on the Southern Gikuyu of British East Africa," Journal of the African Society, April 1911.

Mr. G.A.S. Northcote wrote of the present Gatundu and Githunguri divisions of the Kiambu district:
"There is another explanation of individual land tenure which arises from the description of the method by which the present 'Gethaka' were established. The Dorobo from whom the Kikuyu purchased the right to fell trees and cultivate, and the right to live at peace had from time immemorial partitioned out the forest into hunting areas. No Dorobo might hunt in another area without leave; nor could he hang his honey boxes elsewhere than in his own forest. When the Kikuyu came, the emigrant father of the family purchased the aforesaid rights over a portion of such an area; the Ndorobo boundaries were well known and consisted of streams where possible and otherwise of trees. These boundaries were adopted by the Kikuyu. Naturally as he cleared the forest the game went further in, and the piece of forest between the recesses of the forest and the part sold became gameless and valueless to the Dorobo owner and he would be more willing to sell that bit—and so the process went on." (3)

3. Quoted by Beech, op. cit.

-DK
973
425

In or about 1913 the Hon. Charles Dundas wrote a paper, "The organization and Laws of some Bantu Tribes in East Africa," from which the following is an extract: /p. 86/

"As the Kikuyu advanced they encountered the Dorobo ... They appear to have found it more politic to purchase the land from them than to conquer it, and therefore the more wealthy Kikuyu bought the land ridge by ridge, and the purchasers became owners, who threw open the whole country to their tribe. Possibly, in recognition of this service their claims have remained established to this day. In Kiambu District, many of the original purchasers are still alive, and an old Dorobo who lives on the Chania River can show each parcel of land which he sold and what he kept for himself—for several of the Dorobo were wise enough to retain a part of their land, and in several instances these have become the recognized headmen."

Beech made a thorough investigation of the mode of acquisition in the Dagoretti sub-district in 1911. He says:

"My investigations were made in each location separately, and several thousands of witnesses were individually or collectively examined. The result of my enquiries ... was an unanimous agreement that all arable land was originally purchased by the A-Kikuyu from the Dorobo forest hunters whom they found in possession on their arrival." (1)

1. op. cit.

In a footnote he adds:

"I have no evidence as to how the Dorobo obtained the land. The origin of these people is still somewhat wrapped in mystery, but it is to be presumed that they followed the custom of previous tribes which they displaced, e.g., the 'Athi' of Nyeri. Wherever found, the A-Kikuyu claim to have bought the land from 'hunter tribes'. In the Kikuyu district" i.e. the Dagoretti sub-district "the emigration being so recent, it would naturally be Dorobo that they found there. The payments were originally made doubtless as a 'price of peace'. The Arabs obtained their land from the Galla in the same way."

D
K
T13
425

S:Lambert--48 G-S (ca. 1936-1960) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10 Dorobo FL4

Unfortunately Beech's record was not so thorough as his investigation; the following is a summary of the published results:

Location	Numbers of Sellers	Number of Holdings	Acreage	Notes
(a)	?	37	17,000 acs.	About one half purchased by one Kikuyu from one Dorobo.
(b)	3	37	5,000	Two of the sellers were brothers.
(c)	?	17	5,000	Originally owned by one Dorobo.
(d)	?	26	3,000	
(e)	?	30	4,000	
(f)	?	?	9,000	Nearly three-quarters owned by one Kikuyu, who bought it from three Dorobo.

At the time of the investigation there had already been considerable sub-division of the original holdings as "purchased" from the Dorobo. Concerning location (e) Beech remarked that it "was interesting as it consisted of new forest land to which the Wa-Kikuyu had emigrated not [p. 87] more than 15 years ago. Such as are here live side by side with the Dorobo with whom they have to a large extent intermarried."

S:Lambert--49 G-6 (ca. 1935-1956) 1960 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6
•D
K
•FL3
425
D
[105]

Colonel John Ainsworth, then Chief Native Commissioner, wrote in 1920 a memorandum, "Kikuyu Explanation of the Origin of the Githaka and the Githaka System," in which he said:

"In the course of time, the Kikuyu got into touch with these people (the Dorobo), and, where possible, made friends with them ... These Dorobo lived on game, roots, and honey, and in order to collect the latter they hung honey barrels over wide areas of the forest. They had no cultivation. The limitation of their occupation was generally indicated by the presence of these honey barrels and by game pits. The Dorobo were few in numbers and their villages were scattered in the forests. Gradually the Kikuyu encroached for purposes of cultivation, and began to burn and cut down the trees. The Dorobo ... resented the intrusion by the Kikuyu, and demanded compensation for disturbance of their rights. Individual intruders paid the compensation demanded. On the Dorobo accepting such compensation they made blood-brotherhood and afterwards lived side by side, the Dorobo allowing the Kikuyu to cultivate and the Kikuyu recognizing the right of the Dorobo to carry on his way of living. In the course of time, numbers of Dorobo settled down as members of the Kikuyu community and took up cultivation.

"Many thousands of goats and cattle were paid by the Kikuyu to the Dorobo, not all at once, but from time to time. The Kikuyu correspondingly occupied the forest area 'bit by bit'. The Dorobo, having lost their forests, went to the Masai, to whom they paid goats and cattle for permission to reside among the Masai. They also took large presents of ivory to the Masai Laibon, Mbatian, in payment of their hunting. Others joined the Kikuyu, and became members of the community when they gave up hunting and became cultivators.

"In order to avoid quarrels and fighting among themselves, the Kikuyu agreed that the particular member of the community who parted with his goats or cattle as compensation should be recognised as the person who had acquired the rights of any particular Dorobo, and so, they argue, came into existence the githaka rights now claimed. Where Dorobo elected to remain as members

S:Lambert--50 G-S (ca. 1935-1950) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6

DK
173
425

of the Kikuyu community they remained in occupation of what land they required, and in course of time they bought and sold, amongst each other, girls as wives. It is claimed that subsequent to this understanding between the Kikuyu and the Dorobo, it happened from time to time that in the case of a Dorobo still holding a large piece of forest a Kikuyu would obtain it from him in exchange for a girl or girls handed over as a wife or wives, but such a transaction did not mean that the Dorobo left the area. It simply meant that he transferred his rights to the Kikuyu concerned, and joined his community.

"The Kikuyu claim that in the foregoing manner they acquired the Dorobo rights ..."

Colonel Ainsworth recorded his own opinion as follows:

"There is no doubt in my mind that whatever goats and cattle were paid to the Dorobo by the Kikuyu, the payment was in respect of disturbance of the hunting rights and the right to collect honey enjoyed by the Dorobo up to the time of the burning of the forest by the Kikuyu."

[p. 87] Earlier in the same year the Solicitor General, Mr. K.J. Mair MacKenzie, expressed the opinion that

"... all that the evidence before the Commission (1) established was that they (the Kikuyu) or certain families amongst them had from time to time made payments to the Dorobo not so purchasing the land from the Dorobo, who are a forest-dwelling and hunting tribe, with no conception of ownership in land or any idea of land as a marketable asset; but as a mere payment to avert the depredations and raids of the Dorobo and in order that they (the Kikuyu) might remain peaceably to cultivate the land they were then in occupation of ... I should imagine that they certainly never supposed themselves that the Dorobo were the owners of the land or could pass any title to it. Though it may be that now long use has led them to consider themselves the owners by purchase."

1. Col. Ainsworth was appointed Commissioner to investigate the Githaka system in July 1932.

S.Lambert--51 G-5 (ca. 1935-1950) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6

DX
973
835

The following is an extract from a memorandum written, also in 1930, by Colonel O.F. Watkins.

"Their (the Kikuyu) traditions of purchase from a people knowing nothing originally of money or fincia, are obviously a later interpretation of early transactions, just as the feudal system is often alleged to have been invented by modern historians."

Evidence taken by the 1929 Committee

The evidence given by the Kiambu Kikuyu on the mode of acquisition of their land to the 1929 Committee is contained in the following account.

"Question explained. The meeting does not wish to adjourn for discussion and is prepared to proceed.

"Question 1. Way in which land was acquired.

In the very first place the country about here was occupied by Wandorobo who were hunters. (At this point the meeting asked for adjournment for discussion—adjourned for about 2 hours.) When the Kikuyu first came the hunters objected on the ground that the cutting of forest for cultivation would spoil their honey supply and drive the game away from the game pulls and traps. They said if you want the land you must pay us for it and our ancestors agreed to pay. In the first place each Kikuyu who bought land ceremonially adopted a Dorobo as a token of good faith. Then the Dorobo who had been adopted fixed the price which might be 80 or 100 sheep. Then there was a ceremony of marking out the boundaries. First the amount was paid over and then the Daruma ya Ngwataro (the rope for dividing) was supplied by the purchaser. This was slaughtered and the cattle taken for the ceremony of marking out. Then the Dorobo led the way pointing out his marks on trees or holes in the ground which marked his hunting area off from that of other Wandorobo. Four or five Kikuyu elders followed planting Kiloi and other marks along the boundary, accompanied by a Dorobo witness. The Dorobo did not necessarily sell his whole area. He usually reserved a part, which might be sold separately subsequently. Usually the Kikuyu only bought a part, and bought more as he could afford it, or the land might be bought by section. If a man wanted to buy a larger area than he could pay for, he would

9.Lambert-62 C-6 (ca. 1935-1950) 1962 Kikuyu Folk Stories Folk

get his relations to help with the purchase price so as to avoid having any other than relations as neighbors. Each lily planted as boundary had to [illegible] cows first smeared with cattle. If a cow was the boundary mark it was blazed with an axe and cattle smeared on the blaze. When the boundary had been marked they would go and sit down, and the Akikuyu claimed 1) the milk which had cleared the tract, 2) the axe which had blazed the cows, 3) a branding iron used for marking honey-barrels, the latter indicated that he was going to move his honey-barrels, 4) a young ewe, which had not yet borne a kid. This ewe was called the mwati ya ngoma (the ewe of the singing series). The latter was to compensate him for the clings sustained in marking out the boundary. The ewe and the ram sealed the contract; 5) a pot of honey. Up to the time when the Europeans came Wandorobo or Akikuyu were still selling land there in that way. There were Dorobo in this District as far as the Chania. We always bought them out and never drove them out. If we had driven them out there would have been a curse on the land. However purchase gave right of possession against others. The purchase was made by individuals. The Akikuyu always moved off the land which he sold. The adoption ceremony was as follows. The Akikuyu called the Akikuyu to his village in his own country and in the presence of witnesses they sat down on an ox-hide. Then there were brought 1) an ewe (mubuku), 2) a branding iron (ruoro), 3) a cane (rungu), 4) a cattle-branding stave (ndigi). There was also fat, 5) ivy (mūtīe thereunto), 6) oil. All these things were passed seven times round the witness and the cooked house of a man, to make the pledge binding and put a curse on any who broke it. Then the adopter and the adoptee ate the meat and put on the rubbers which was cut by two old men. Then an old woman brought oil and the ivy and rubbed it on the hands of the two parties. Then each party put his thumb into the ivy and marked the other right down the nose. Each adjured the other by the mark not to break the pregnant contract of sale and not to harm the other. Then an old woman and came all mixed with ngombe (grain) and rubbed the marks off their noses. The Akikuyu are bound by this oath to be a protector of the Akikuyu. The Akikuyu used the land for cultivation only. They were not hunters.

[illegible]

[illegible] Each man bought his himself, even though he might have to get his friends to help him with cash as in the case of buying a wife. Occasionally the Nkanda stayed on and was given a Kikuyu wife. Sometimes he accepted a Kikuyu girl instead of cash in payment in which case he had to stay. It was always an absolute sale and there was no possibility of redemption."

[illegible] African Evidence taken by Land Commission

The African evidence before the Land Commission is not very helpful. The native claims usually consist of congenital nonsense according to a set formula—"Our [illegible], who consisting of so many hundreds of people, many centuries past bought each and each a piece of land (generally ill-defined) from a Dorobo called Ol-ondi-lo for so many thousands of goats and a girl or two." The Commissioners remark that "They took evidence on several of these claims, which enabled them to understand the nature and issue of such claims generally. The evidence was very voluminous and conflicting and the Commissioners were of opinion that it was of no great assistance to them in arriving at any conclusions on the questions upon which they were called to express an opinion." Most of the oral evidence was an appeal to the emotions or a rigmarole of deceitful sophistry rather than a reasoned argument or straightforward statement of demonstrable facts. Many of the witnesses set out to be brazenly lying or clever rather than logical or even reasonably truthful. "Are lands in your country ever bought with the souls of people?" asked one, and "Can the King understand that he has taken from us not only our land but our God?" another. An original explanation of the Dorobo (probably not far-fetched to be popular) was attempted by one witness. "What about the people who came here?" he said, "Did they come because they heard that somebody was going to sell the land? The people called Dorobo or the ones who sold the land [illegible] here were the same people who came from Ulanga, but they came altogether. But the Dorobo from whom the land here was bought were the people who came down from ahead of the others and had taken up the land and driven out the elephants and buffaloes and other game, drawing them with bows and arrows and digging game pits for them, and for those why have forgotten and the land to the agricultural people who came after and that they should be asked for their aid

Lambert 94

and their wealth and for having to come first and do all the hard work." The "Loyal Kikuyu Peoples of Southern District of Kikuyu" tried to exploit a similar misrepresentation. "From the beginning we were buyers and sellers," they said. "Almost all our lands we bought from Dorobo, who were the original owners. The Dorobo were a part of the Kikuyu tribe who were dwelling in the forest, living on the game and blood of animals, and the other part of the tribe bought it from them." Another witness demonstrated his credibility by giving his version of the list of the Kikuyu generations ago, which must have appeared to the Commissioners to be just about as relevant to their subject as a list of the Kings of Israel until the recital came to an end with the usual emotional appeal—"Are you going to remove all our males so that there will be no more generations? ... My cry to you is for seven generations, each generation in turn for land to land to leave to each succeeding generation, and my cry is what is my generation to leave to the following generation if you do nothing about it?" It seems to have escaped the witness that the dispossessed Dorobo might have had something equally cogent to say on the subject and that the land he was now claiming as potentially but certainly not been passed on by the earlier generations as his lot to those succeeding them.

Canon Leakey's Evidence

Notice must be taken of the evidence given by the Rev. Canon Leakey to the Land Commission. Some years before (in 1919) he had written a letter to the Daily Leader of British East Africa from which the following is extracted.

> "I am aware in certain quarters it is thought that the idea of the Kikuyu having purchased their land for large numbers of cows and sheep is a faked up affair, or 'fairy tales' ... If such were the case the Akikuyu would be a clever people indeed. As it is impossible to catch the old men tripping and giving conflicting evidence with regard to the early history of their land tenure. Why! They actually had to pay the Wandorobo what may be considered a primitive form of survey fees! They were charged, beside a ram, mwori wa ringeni, or in English 'arrow maiden-ewe.' This young ewe was part of the fee claimed by the Dorobo owner for walking to a bee-line through forest

S:Lambert--SS C-S (no. 1930-0930) 1960 PLUS Kikuyu PLUS Dorobo FILE

• D
K
• 1173
925

undergrowth instead of following paths, as the bow-legged native can unerringly perform to do, and so getting snug on his legs by a vicious kind of creeping nettle, while he exiled the boundary of the land which was about to change ownership. Can anyone be so foolish as to suppose that they made up stories of this kind on purpose to dupe the Europeans and make them believe that they bought land from other natives? I am told by well travelled men that land tenure is a practically unknown thing among primitive tribes before the advent of the white man. If that is true, and I have no reason to doubt it, then I venture to think that this particular characteristic of this tribe discoverable by a study of their folk-lore, should be considered a matter of extreme interest, and not lightly thrown aside because it happens to conflict with preconceived ideas, and in some cases does not fall in with what one wishes to prove in the case."

In a memorandum to the Land Commission Canon Leakey wrote, "Turning now to the question as to whether there is any truth in the statements made by the Kikuyu that they purchased their land from the Dorobo I can only say that I took infinite pains many years ago to try and find out if it really was a fact and I could never find anything to make me doubt it. I am absolutely convinced in my own mind that what they say about this is entirely correct."

D
K
1173
925
698

Findings of Land Commission

The Land Commission, like the 1929 Committee, found it difficult to come to any clear-cut conclusion as to the nature of the payments, if any, made by the Kikuyu to the Dorobo. The Commission had recorded,

"We need not deflect the exact implication of the claim that they 'bought the Dorobo out'. It is at least certain that payments were made, and that Kikuyu families are the undisputed successors in the occupation of areas over which Dorobo families once hunted. This, which is all that is important to our purpose, is common ground."

The Land Commission expressed its general conclusions as follows:

[illegible] claims by the Dorobo. There are 141 cases in which the claim

[illegible]

O.Lambeth—68 C-6 (no. 1858-1864) 1959 PLO Kikuyu PLO
Dendle PLA

"Possibly the Kikuyu theory that their land rights in the Nairobi District rest on purchase from the Dorobo would not work out very favourably for them, if it were used as the only support of their rights. The Dorobo can reasonably contend: a) that the sales, generally speaking, are not proved, and that probably much of the land was not sold; b) that the obligation of protection conferred on these Kikuyu adoptees was not carried out, and that, as soon as the Kikuyu had got its land, the Dorobo was sometimes 'de-adopted' as the Kikuyu themselves confessed to the 1929 Commission; c) that the alleged 'sales,' when they took place at all, were not final, but only redeemable loans, as the custom of Chief Kinanjui proves, and that the alleged final payment was not generally agreed by the Dorobo and did not reach many of them; d) that in many cases they are still partners to the land; and e) that, when and in so far as they sold land, they frequently reserved a place for themselves, as the Kikuyu Land Tenure Report admits.

"We shall not take the responsibility of pronouncing on these questions, but we think that, if the Kikuyu were fully to realise their implications, they would be too ready to insist that every land question should be decided on historical grounds and would be more willing to concede something to the claims of beneficial occupation.

"In a process which combined, as we have seen, purity of alliance and partnership and purity of adoption and absorption, purity of payment, and largely of force and chicanery, the Kikuyu had already succeeded the Dorobo when Count Teleki passed through Kikuyu land in 1887 ...."

It must be remarked, however, that the Lord Commissioner's findings that the process of succession contained "largely of force and chicanery" does not entitle us, however fully we accept that finding, to reject or deny the Kikuyu claim that the complete purchase of land was possible and in fact practiced. There is no doubt the Kikuyu from another to the Nairobi District, but, as every District Officer who has served there knows only too well, to obtain by chicanery or even force rather than by purchase is not altogether repugnant to modern Kikuyu ethos.